

POS 6207: Political Behavior

Class Periods: Tuesday periods 8-10, 3:00-6:00 pm ET

Location: Zoom (id circulated in Canvas)

Academic Term: Spring 2021

Instructor:

Stephen C. Craig

sccraig@ufl.edu

(352) 273-2377 (infrequently monitored in Spring 2021)

Office Hours: Tuesday 1:00-3:00, Wednesday 10:00-11:00, and by appointment, Zoom id 831-661-6708

Web Page: <http://users.clas.ufl.edu/sccraig>

Required text:

Robert S. Erikson and Kent L. Tedin, *American Public Opinion: Its Origins, Content, and Impact*, 10th ed. (Routledge 2019). Note: This is not a required text *per se*. It is listed here as a reference that provides general background and foundational material on most of the topics covered in this course. It can be rented on amazon kindle.

Other books that you might find useful:

James A. Stimson, *Tides of Consent: How Public Opinion Shapes American Politics*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press 2015).

Christopher H. Achen and Larry M. Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government* (Princeton University Press, 2017 edition with afterward).

Morris P. Fiorina, *Unstable Majorities: Polarization, Party Sorting and Political Stalemate* (Hoover Institution Press, 2017).

Lilliana Mason, *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity* (University of Chicago Press, 2018).

Alan I. Abramowitz, *The Great Alignment: Race, Party Transformation, and the Rise of Donald Trump* (Yale University Press, 2018).

John Sides et al., *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America* (Princeton University Press, 2018).

Russell J. Dalton, *Citizen Politics: Public Opinion and Political Parties in Advanced Western Democracies*, 7th ed. (CQ Press, 2020).

Some of these books and others listed in the syllabus as recommended readings have been placed on 2-hour reserve at Smathers Library. Journal articles are available via the Smathers Library e-journal link (www.uflib.ufl.edu) or off-campus with your gatorlink account at www.uflib.ufl.edu/ufproxy.html. Internet readings can be accessed either directly online or (along with selected book chapters) in the Files folder in Canvas.

Course Overview:

This course is designed to provide students with an introduction to the (mostly) academic literature and major controversies regarding public opinion, voting behavior, and political participation – primarily, though not exclusively, in the United States. For example: How much do ordinary citizens know about politics and government? How complete is their understanding of important issues, and to what extent do preferences on those issues guide their voting choices? Is the public as ideologically polarized along liberal-conservative lines as the popular media often make it out to be? Why don't more Americans participate in politics, either at the polls or in other ways? Do low participation rates mean that the United States is less "democratic" than its citizens would like to believe? Why have Americans become increasingly mistrustful of their governmental leaders and institutions? These are only a few of the questions that will be examined over the next few months.

Grades:

Grades will be based on the following:

Part I. Attendance and participation (25 percent). Attendance matters, since you cannot participate if you're not in class. However, the largest portion of this grade will reflect whether students make an informed (showing familiarity with assigned readings) contribution to class discussions.

Part II. Weekly essays (25 percent). Each student will complete six essays (2-3 pages **single-spaced**, 12-point font, with a **bibliography** at the end that is not included in the page count) based on the last twelve topics (#3 through #14) outlined below. These essays should do one of the following:

- provide a theoretical overview linking several (though not necessarily all) of the week's readings, and perhaps others that aren't listed on the syllabus;
- identify a question left unanswered by the week's readings, and briefly suggest what kind of research might be done to fill in the blanks;
- provide a methodological critique of one or more of the week's readings;
- discuss how findings from one or more of the readings (possibly augmented by a consideration of related studies not on the syllabus) might be applied in a real-life political setting, campaign or otherwise; or
- discuss findings from studies of U.S. political behavior in a comparative context and/or vice versa.

Strong essays from past students will be posted from time to time on Canvas to help you get a better sense of what I'm looking for.

Essays should be submitted to the appropriate Assignments folder in Canvas **no later than 3 p.m.** on the day they are due. In most cases, they will be read, graded, and returned to students within a week of their completion. **Anything submitted after the deadline will be penalized up to one full letter grade, plus one additional letter grade if turned in the following day – after which the essay will not be read or graded at all.** With so many choices built into the structure of the course, there is no excuse for failing to complete all six short essays. Any missing essay will therefore receive a grade of zero, so don't lose track of where you stand because there will be no opportunities for extra credit (or makeup work) at the end.

It is expected that all essays will represent original work by students (or when the work of others is referenced, be properly cited. **Any assignment that does not constitute original work will be subject to penalties consistent with the UF Code of Student Conduct.**

Part III. Paper/Exam/Teach/Memo. Each student also is required to do any two of the following (25 percent each, for a combined total of 50 percent):

- Write a term paper, 8-10 single-spaced pages in length excluding references, that reviews some topic of your own choosing (selected in consultation with me), develops interesting hypotheses relating to that topic, and provides the outline of a research project appropriate for testing those hypotheses. The paper is due at noon on Friday, April 23. (Note: For some of you, especially if there are any ph.d. types, this paper could serve as the first stage of a project that you will further develop – and perhaps execute – in another seminar or at the dissertation stage. With that possibility in mind, you should feel free to consult with other professors about your topic, as appropriate.)
- Complete a written take-home exam, based on material covered in class and/or in your readings. There will be two questions similar to what students might see on a ph.d. qualifying exam in political behavior. Questions will be sent to students via email at noon on Wednesday, April 21, and answers are due by noon on Friday, April 23.

- Teach a seminar (ph.d. students only), with performance evaluated on the basis of thoroughness, clarity, and insights provided on the topic of the day. Those who wish to pursue this option must (a) declare by Tuesday, January 26 which seminar they would like to lead; and (b) give me an outline of their presentation by noon on the day of the seminar.
- Prepare a campaign memo (m.a. students only), 8-10 single-spaced pages in length excluding references, that describes in layman's terms how the political behavior literature might inform the development of campaign strategy, tactics, or message. The idea here is to explain, *for example*, how that literature can help you (as general consultant) to (a) anticipate how certain kinds of people are likely to vote, and suggest ways of tilting the distribution of that vote in your favor; (b) understand or predict voter turnout, and how that might affect your campaign; (c) make smart decisions about how to utilize scarce resources (including but not limited to money); (d) shape your message for maximum impact; (e) deal with events, expected or unexpected, that might occur during the campaign; or (f) understand how the candidate's strategic position (e.g., partisanship, incumbency, issues, primary challenge) affects his/her probability of success. This discussion should not be linked to any particular race or candidate – rather, the goal is to outline some general rules, guidelines, and ways of thinking about elections that would help your party and its candidates to make smarter decisions at every level in the next campaign. The memo is due at noon on Friday, April 23.

Note: To facilitate grading, I may ask that term papers, take-home exams, and campaign memos be submitted in both hard (to me) and electronic copy (to Canvas) by the date and time specified above. Whether or not this is required will be announced later in the semester. Late submissions in either form will result in a penalty of at least one letter grade, depending on the severity of the offense.

Some concluding points:

- Attendance via Zoom with cameras turned on is required. Students who can reasonably anticipate an absence should inform me by email as soon as is practical and prior to the anticipated absence. Absences may be excused with documentation of a University, military, or legal obligation, illness, or bereavement.
- There will be times when I need to communicate with the class as a group. In those instances, I will do so either through Outlook (using a listserv) or, more often, via Canvas. Students should check their incoming mail regularly so as not to miss any important information. The best way for students to connect with me directly is through Outlook (sccraig@ufl.edu). If a reply is needed, I will try to get back to you fairly quickly.
- *A word about office hours: Students who wish to talk with me should sign in via Zoom (my personal ID is 831-661-6708) during the hours indicated above. You will then be placed in a "waiting room" and I will get to you in the order of your arrival. If you are unable to connect with me during office hours, or if you wish to discuss matters that are confidential, feel free to request a one-on-one meeting and we will determine a time that works for both of us.*

For all written assignments (weekly essays, term paper, campaign memo):

- Be sure to include an alphabetical list of references at the end for all works cited.
- In-text cites should take the following form: (Craig 2020) – do not use footnotes or insert full article/book titles in the text. If I want to know what (Craig 2020) is, I should be able to find out by looking at your list of references. Include the page number for direct quotes and other specific points drawn from the article/book.
- The only thing that should appear at the top of page one is your name. **Do not include the course number, my name, the date, a title for your essay, or any other information.**

- Before submitting any written assignment, review it carefully for errors in spelling, grammar, and/or capitalization. Regarding the latter, here is a partial list of terms that should be capitalized: Democrat (or Democratic Party), Republican (or Republican Party), Congress, Senate, House of Representatives, Supreme Court, White House, First Amendment, and the proper name of any individual. Terms that should not be capitalized include: president, vice president, senator, congressman/women, governor (unless these are used as a title, e.g., President Biden), and constitution. Also, be sure to use paragraph breaks as appropriate; paragraphs that run on for the better part of a page (or longer) and encompass more than one topic are difficult to read and will put your instructor in a grumpy mood as he decides what grade to assign to your work.
- Any student with a handicap or special need should notify me (and coordinate with Student Services at 202 Peabody Hall) as soon as possible at the beginning of the semester. Every effort will be made to accommodate your situation within the guidelines set forth by the university.

COURSE OUTLINE

Week 1 (Jan 12): Introduction

Assigned Readings:

Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapters 1-2.

Small Bites:

Nate Cohn, "What Went Wrong with Polling? Some Early Theories," *New York Times* (11/10/20).

David Hill, "The Dirty Little Secret Pollsters Need to Own Up To," *Washington Post* (11/19/20).

Mirta Galesic and Wandu Bruine de Bruin, "Election Polls Are More Accurate If They Ask Participants How Others Will Vote," *The Conversation* (11/18/20).

Ariel Edwards-Levy, "How Do Americans Feel about Their Finances? It Depends on Whether You Mention Trump," *huffpost.com* (8/1/17).

Charles Lane, "The Quality of Polling Is a Symptom of a Democracy's Health," *Washington Post* (11/16/20).

Lucy Morgan, "From the Archives: Lawton Chiles' Camp Admits to 'Mystery' Calls against Jeb Bush Campaign," *Tampa Bay Times* (6/8/15).

Week 2 (Jan 19): The American Electorate: Early Impressions . . . and They Weren't Pretty

Assigned Readings:

Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 6.

Bernard Berelson et al., "Democratic Practice and Democratic Theory," in Susan Welch and John Comer, eds., *Public Opinion: Its Formation, Measurement, and Impact* (1975; reprinted from Berelson et al., *Voting*, 1954).

Philip E. Converse, "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics," in David E. Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* (1964).

Herbert McClosky, "Consensus and Ideology in American Politics," *American Political Science Review* (June 1964).

John M. Carey et al., "Searching for Bright Lines in the Trump Presidency," *Perspectives on Politics* (September 2019).

Small Bites:

German Feierherd, "A Significant Minority of Americans Say They Could Support a Military Takeover of the U.S. Government," *Monkey Cage* (2/16/18).

Paul A. Djupe, "White Evangelicals Fear Atheists and Democrats Would Strip Away Their Rights. Why?" *Monkey Cage* (12/23/19).

Ronald Inglehart, "The Coronavirus May Trigger Tribal Instincts. In Times of Crisis, People Want Strong Leaders," *Monkey Cage* (4/10/20).

Pippa Norris, "Can Democracy Survive If Most Republicans Think the Government Is Illegitimate?"

Washington Post (12/11/20).

For some perspective: The following two studies are not required reading (they are obviously dated), but you might enjoy checking them out anyway and thinking about whether they shed any light on more recent events. [Stephen C. Craig, "The 2000 Presidential Election: Voter Reaction in Florida and the Nation," Report prepared by the University of Florida Graduate Program in Political Campaigning \(2001\).](#)
[Stephen C. Craig, Michael D. Martinez, Jason Gainous, and James G. Kane, "Winners, Losers, and Election Context: Voter Responses to the 2000 Presidential Election," *Political Research Quarterly* \(2006\).](#)

Recommended Books:

Bernard R. Berelson et al., *Voting* (1954).
 Angus Campbell et al., *The American Voter* (1960 unabridged).
 Angus Campbell et al., *Elections and the Political Order* (1966), Chapters 4, 5, 8.
 Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture* (1963).
 V. O. Key, Jr., *The Responsible Electorate* (1966).
 Anthony Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy* (1957).
 David Easton and Jack Dennis, *Children in the Political System* (1969).
 M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence* (1974).
 Robert E. Lane, *Political Ideology: Why the American Common Man Believes What He Does* (1962).
 Samuel A. Stouffer, *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* (1955).

Recommended Readings:

James W. Prothro and Charles M. Grigg, "Fundamental Principles of Democracy: Bases of Agreement and Disagreement," *Journal of Politics* (May 1960).
 Philip E. Converse, "Of Time and Partisan Stability," *Comparative Political Studies* (July 1969).
 Richard A. Brody and Benjamin I. Page, "Comment: The Assessment of Policy Voting," *American Political Science Review* (June 1972).
 Gerald M. Pomper, "From Confusion to Clarity: Issues and American Voters, 1956-1968," *American Political Science Review* (June 1972).
 John L. Sullivan et al., "An Alternative Conceptualization of Political Tolerance: Illusory Increases 1950s-1970s," *American Political Science Review* (September 1979).

Week 3 (Jan 26): Voter Competence: How Stupid Are We?

Assigned Readings:

Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 3 (pp. 53-68).
 Brian F. Schaffner and Samantha Luks, "Misinformation or Expressive Responding? What an Inauguration Crowd Can Tell Us about the Source of Political Misinformation in Surveys," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (March 2018).
 Anthony Fowler and Michele Margolis, "The Political Consequences of Uninformed Voters," *Electoral Studies* (June 2014).
[Sean Freeder et al., "The Importance of Knowing 'What Goes with What': Reinterpreting the Evidence on Policy Attitude Stability," *Journal of Politics* \(January 2019\).](#)
[Erik C. Nisbet et al., "The Partisan Brain: How Dissonant Science Messages Lead Conservatives and Liberals to \(Dis\)Trust Science," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* \(March 2015\).](#)

Small Bites:

[Maggie Koerth, "Why Partisans Look at the Same Evidence on Ukraine and See Wildly Different Things," *fivethirtyeight.com* \(10/3/19\).](#)
[Eric Dolan, "Study: People with Less Political Knowledge Think They Know a Lot about Politics," *PsyPost* \(4/16/18\).](#)

Aaron Blake, "A New Study Suggests Fake News Might Have Won Donald Trump the 2016 Election," *Washington Post* (4/3/18).

Chris Cillizza, "The One Good Thing Donald Trump's Assault on Democracy Has Done for America," *cnn.com* (12/15/20).

Recommended Readings:

Ian G. Anson, "Partisanship, Political Knowledge, and the Dunning-Kruger Effect," *Political Psychology* (October 2018).

Brian F. Schaffner and Cameron Roche, "Misinformation and Motivated Reasoning: Responses to Economic News in a Politicized Environment," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Spring 2017).

Martin Bisgaard, "How Getting the Facts Right Can Fuel Partisan-Motivated Reasoning," *American Journal of Political Science* (October 2019).

Vanessa Williamson, "Public Ignorance or Elitist Jargon? Reconsidering Americans' Overestimates of Government Waste and Foreign Aid," *American Politics Research* (January 2019).

Week 4 (Feb 2): Ideology: Beyond Red vs. Blue

Assigned Readings:

Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 3 (pp. 68-79).

Stanley Feldman and John Zaller, "The Political Culture of Ambivalence: Ideological Responses to the Welfare State," *American Journal of Political Science* (February 1992).

Pamela Conover and Stanley Feldman, "The Origins and Meaning of Liberal/Conservative Self-Identifications," *American Journal of Political Science* (November 1981).

Lilliana Mason, "Ideologues without Issues: The Polarizing Consequences of Ideological Identities," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (special issue 2018).

Michael Barber and Jeremy C. Pope, "Does Party Trump Ideology? Disentangling Party and Ideology in America," *American Political Science Review* (February 2019).

Small Bites:

Lee Drutman, "The Moderate Middle Is a Myth," *fivethirtyeight.com* (9/24/19).

Robb Willer and Jan Voelkel, "Why Progressive Candidates Should Invoke Conservative Values," *New York Times* (11/30/19).

Eric Levitz, "America's Political Mood Is Now the 'Most Liberal Ever Recorded,'" *New York Magazine/Intelligencer* (6/8/19).

Joseph E. Uscinski et al., "Who Supports QAnon? Here's What Our Poll Finds," *Monkey Cage* (8/3/20).

Sasha Issenberg, "Born This Way: The New Weird Science of Hardwired Political Identity," *New York Magazine* (4/8/12).

Recommended Readings:

James A. Stimson, *Tides of Consent: How Public Opinion Shapes American Politics*, 2nd ed. (2015).

Adrien A. Halliez and Judd R. Thornton, "Examining Trends in Ideological Identification: 1972-2016," *American Politics Research* (2020 online).

Adam M. Enders, "Conspiratorial Thinking and Political Constraint," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Fall 2019).

Scott Clifford, "Compassionate Democrats and Tough Republicans: How Ideology Shapes Partisan Stereotypes," *Political Behavior* (December 2020).

William G. Jacoby, "Is There a Culture War? Conflicting Value Structures in American Public Opinion," *American Political Science Review* (November 2014).

Week 5 (Feb 9). Partisanship: It's My Party and I'll Cry If I Want To

Assigned Readings:

Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 3 (pp. 79-88).

- Patrick R. Miller and Pamela Johnston Conover, "Red and Blue States of Mind: Partisan Hostility and Voting in the United States," *Political Research Quarterly* (June 2015).
- Samara Klar et al., "Affective Polarization or Partisan Disdain? Untangling a Dislike for the Opposing Party from a Dislike of Partisanship," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Summer 2018).
- Emily A. West and Shanto Iyengar, "Partisanship as a Social Identity: Implications for Polarization," *Political Behavior* (2020 online).
- Annemarie S. Walter and David P. Redlask, "Voters' Partisan Responses to Politicians' Immoral Behavior," *Political Psychology* (October 2019).

Small Bites:

- Larry Bartels, "Under Trump, Democrats and Republicans Have Never Been More Divided – on Nearly Everything," *Monkey Cage* (5/21/20).
- Michael Tesler, "In 2008, Everyone Thought the Recession Was Bad. But in 2020, Many Americans' Views Depend on Their Party," *Monkey Cage* (6/30/20).
- Yascha Mounk, "Republicans Don't Understand Democrats – and Democrats Don't Understand Republicans," *The Atlantic* (6/23/19).
- Benjamin Toff and Elizabeth Suhay, "How Worried Are You about an Impending Trade War? That Might Depend on What Your Fellow Party Members Think," *Monkey Cage* (7/12/18).
- Meredith Dost et al., "Is President Trump's Rhetoric Racist? It Depends on Whom You Ask." *Monkey Cage* (8/12/19).

Recommended Readings:

- Daniel Stevens et al., "Fair's Fair? Principles, Partisanship, and Perceptions of the Fairness of Campaign Rhetoric," *British Journal of Political Science* (January 2015).
- Eric Groenendyk, "Competing Motives in a Polarized Electorate: Political Responsiveness, Identity Defensiveness, and the Rise of Partisan Antipathy," *Political Psychology* (special issue 2018).
- Christopher McConnell et al., "The Economic Consequences of Partisanship in a Polarized Era," *American Journal of Political Science* (January 2018).
- Alexander G. Theodoridis, "Me, Myself, and (I), (D), or (R)? Partisanship and Political Cognition through the Lens of Implicit Identity," *Journal of Politics* (October 2017).
- Erik Peterson, "The Scope of Partisan Influence on Policy Opinion," *Political Psychology* (April 2019).

Week 6 (Feb 16). Political Learning: Where Do Our Opinions Come From?

Assigned Readings:

- Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapters 5, 8.
- M. Kent Jennings et al., "Politics across Generations: Family Transition Reexamined," *Journal of Politics* (July 2009).
- Shanto Iyengar et al., "The Home As a Political Fortress: Family Agreement in an Era of Polarization," *Journal of Politics* (October 2018).
- Johnathan C. Peterson et al., "Do People Really Become More Conservative as They Age?" *Journal of Politics* (April 2020).
- Joshua D. Kertzer and Thomas Zeitzoff, "A Bottom-Up Theory of Public Opinion about Foreign Policy," *American Journal of Political Science* (July 2017).
- Joshua L. Kalla and David E. Broockman, "Reducing Exclusionary Attitudes through Interpersonal Conversation: Evidence from Three Field Experiments," *American Political Science Review* (May 2020).

Small Bites:

- Robinson Meyer, "The Grim Conclusions of the Largest-Ever Study of Fake News," *The Atlantic* (3/8/18).
- Jianing Li et al., "When Do Voters Support Black Lives Matter or the Green New Deal?" *Monkey Cage* (12/8/20).
- Maneesh Arora et al., "What Helps Non-Black People Support Black Lives Matter? A Signal from Someone

in Their Own Ethnic Group," *Monkey Cage* (6/18/20).
 Alyssa N. Rockenbach et al., "Professors Change Few Minds on Politics – But Conservative Ones May Have More Influence," *Monkey Cage* (3/2/20).

Recommended Readings:

Tali Mendelberg et al., "College Socialization and the Economic Views of Affluent Americans," *American Journal of Political Science* (July 2017).
 James N. Druckman et al., "No Need to Watch: How the Effects of Partisan Media Can Spread via Interpersonal Discussions," *American Journal of Political Science* (January 2018).
 Elizabeth A. Sharrow et al., "The First-Daughter Effect: The Impact of Fathering Daughters on Men's Preferences for Gender-Equality Policies," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Fall 2018).
 Eric Groenendyk, "Of Two Minds, But One Heart: A Good 'Gut' Feeling Moderates the Effect of Ambivalence on Attitude Formation and Turnout," *American Journal of Political Science* (April 2019).
 Jennifer Wolak and Carey E. Stapleton, "Self-Esteem and the Development of Partisan Identity," *Political Research Quarterly* (September 2020).

Week 7 (Feb 23). Social Groups/Conflict and Identity: Demography Is Destiny . . . Or Not

Assigned Readings:

Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 7.
 Pamela Johnston Conover, "The Influence of Group Identifications on Political Perception and Evaluation," *Journal of Politics* (August 1984).

NOTE: Issue topics for week #11 must be designated by this date.

Small Bites:

Ronald Brownstein, "There Are Absolutely Two Americas. Sometimes in the Same State," *cnn.com* (7/20/18).
 Geoffrey Skelley et al., "Why the Suburbs Have Shifted Blue," *fivethirtyeight.com* (12/16/20).
 Erin C. Cassese et al., "How 'Hostile Sexism' Came to Shape Our Politics," *Monkey Cage* (10/2/18).
 Andrew L. Whitehead et al., "Despite Porn Stars and Playboy Models, White Evangelicals Aren't Rejecting Trump. Here's Why," *Monkey Cage* (3/26/18).
 Jeremiah J. Castle et al., "Why Young White Evangelicals Aren't Likely to Leave the Republican Party," *Monkey Cage* (9/3/19).
 Amelia Thomson-DeVeaux and Laura Bronner, "Why Democrats Struggle to Mobilize a 'Religious Left,'" *fivethirtyeight.com* (5/29/19).
 Hakeem Jefferson and Alan Yan, "How the Two-Party System Obscures the Complexity of Black Americans' Politics," *fivethirtyeight.com* (10/6/20).
 Caitlin Dewey, "White America's Racial Resentment Is the Real Impetus for Welfare Cuts, Study Says," *Washington Post* (5/30/18).
 Thomas Wood, "Racism Motivated Trump Voters More than Authoritarianism," *Monkey Cage* (4/17/17).
 Nathaniel Rakich and Julia Wolfe, "White Voters Without a Degree Remained Staunchly Republican in 2018," *fivethirtyeight.com* (12/11/18).
 Thomas Ogorzalek et al., "White Trump Voters Are Richer Than They Appear," *Monkey Cage* (11/12/19).

Recommended Readings:

Adam M. Enders and Jamil S. Scott, "The Increasing Racialization of American Electoral Politics," *American Politics Research* (March 2018).
 Diana C. Mutz, "Status Threat, Not Economic Hardship, Explains the 2016 Presidential Vote," *Proceedings of National Academy of Sciences* (2018; <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1718155115>).
 Stephen P. Nicholson and Gary M. Segura, "Who's the Party of the People? Economic Populism and the U.S. Public's Beliefs about Political Parties," *Political Behavior* (June 2012).

Tiffany D. Barnes and Erin C. Cassese, "American Party Women: A Look at the Gender Gap within Parties," *Political Research Quarterly* (March 2017).

Gregory Shufeldt, "Party-Group Ambivalence and Voter Loyalty: Results from Three Experiments," *American Politics Research* (January 2018).

Week 8 (Mar 2). Voting Behavior: Just Another Pretty Face?

Assigned Readings:

Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 9.

Jon C. Rogowski, "Voter Decision-Making with Polarized Choices," *British Journal of Political Science* (January 2018).

Andrew B. Hall and Daniel M. Thompson, "Who Punishes Extremist Nominees? Candidate Ideology and Turning Out the Base in US Elections," *American Political Science Review* (August 2018).

Tyler T. Reny et al., "Vote Switching in the 2016 Election: How Racial and Immigration Attitudes, Not Economics, Explain Shifts in White Voting," *Public Opinion Quarterly* (Spring 2019).

Nichole M. Bauer, "Shifting Standards: How Voters Evaluate the Qualifications of Female and Male Candidates," *Journal of Politics* (January 2020).

Small Bites:

Nathaniel Rakich and Ryan Best, "There Wasn't *That* Much Split-Ticket Voting in 2020," [fivethirtyeight.com](https://www.fivethirtyeight.com/news/2020/12/20/there-wasnt-that-much-split-ticket-voting-in-2020/) (12/2/20).

Nate Silver, "Socially Liberal, Fiscally Conservative Voters Preferred Trump in 2016," [fivethirtyeight.com](https://www.fivethirtyeight.com/news/2019/02/05/socially-liberal-fiscally-conservative-voters-preferred-trump-in-2016/) (2/5/19).

Maggie Koerth, "Does Knowing Whom Others Might Vote for Change Whom You'll Vote For?" [fivethirtyeight.com](https://www.fivethirtyeight.com/news/2019/12/05/does-knowing-whom-others-might-vote-for-change-whom-youll-vote-for/) (12/5/19).

Amelia Thomson-DeVeaux, "Are Some Democratic Voters Reluctant to Support a Gay Candidate?" [fivethirtyeight.com](https://www.fivethirtyeight.com/news/2019/12/07/are-some-democratic-voters-reluctant-to-support-a-gay-candidate/) (12/7/19).

Recommended Readings:

Christopher H. Achen and Larry M. Bartels, *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Responsive Government* (2017 edition with afterward).

Michael Henderson, "Finding the Way Home: The Dynamics of Partisan Support in Presidential Campaigns," *Political Behavior* (December 2015).

Douglas J. Ahler et al., "Face Value? Experimental Evidence that Candidate Appearance Influences Electoral Choice," *Political Behavior* (March 2017).

Kyle Endres, "Targeted Issue Messages and Voting Behavior," *American Politics Research* (March 2020).

Brian T. Hamel and Michael G. Miller, "How Voters Punish and Donors Protect Legislators Embroiled in Scandal," *Political Research Quarterly* (March 2019).

Week 9 (Mar 9). Retrospective Voting: It's (Usually) the Economy, Stupid

Assigned Readings:

Thomas J. Rudolph and J. Tobin Grant, "An Attributional Model of Economic Voting: Evidence from the 2000 Presidential Election," *Political Research Quarterly* (December 2002).

Thomas M. Holbrook et al., "Bringing the President Back In: The Collapse of Lehman Brothers and the Evolution of Retrospective Voting in the 2008 Presidential Election," *Political Research Quarterly* (June 2012).

John R. Wright, "Unemployment and the Democratic Electoral Advantage," *American Political Science Review* (November 2012).

Craig M. Burnett and Vladimir Kogan, "The Politics of Potholes: Service Quality and Retrospective Voting in Local Elections," *Journal of Politics* (January 2017).

Small Bites:

Ben Casselman and Jim Tankersley, "The Economy Didn't Save Republicans After All," *New York Times* (11/9/18).

Staff, "Does the Economy Affect Elections Any More?" *The Economist* (11/28/19).

Nate Silver, "Trump's Reelection May Hinge on the Economy – and Coronavirus," *fivethirtyeight.com* (3/25/20).

S. Erdem Aytaç et al., "Trump Supporters Vastly Overestimate Unemployment – and They Blame Politicians for It," *Monkey Cage* (11/2/16).

Recommended Readings:

Morris P. Fiorina, *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections* (1981).

Pamela Johnston Conover and Stanley Feldman, "Emotional Reactions to the Economy: I'm Mad as Hell and I'm Not Going to Take It Anymore," *American Journal of Political Science* (February 1986).

Andrew Healy et al., "Partisan Bias in Blame Attribution: When Does It Occur?" *Journal of Experimental Political Science* (December 2014).

Philip Edward Jones, "Partisanship, Political Awareness, and Retrospective Evaluations, 1956-2016," *Political Behavior* (December 2020).

Christopher J. Anderson, "Economic Voting and Political Context: A Comparative Perspective," *Electoral Studies* (June 2000).

Recharge Week (Mar 16): TBA

Week 10 (Mar 23). Polarization/Realignment: Can't We All Just Get Along?

Assigned Readings:

Shanto Iyengar and Masah Krupenkin, "The Strengthening of Partisan Affect," *Political Psychology* (special issue 2018).

Lilliana Mason and Julie Wronski, "One Tribe to Bind Them All: How Our Social Group Attachments Strengthen Partisanship," *Political Psychology* (special issue 2018).

Eric Groenendyk et al., "Intraparty Polarization in American Politics," *Journal of Politics* (October 2020).

Amnon Cavari and Guy Freedman, "Polarized Mass or Polarized Few? Assessing the Parallel Rise of Survey Nonresponse and Measures of Polarization," *Journal of Politics* (April 2018).

Small Bites:

Lee Drutman, "How Hatred Came to Dominate American Politics," *fivethirtyeight.com* (10/5/20).

Alexander Theodoridis and James Martherus, "Trump Is Not the Only One Who Calls Opponents 'Animals.' Democrats and Republicans Do It to Each Other," *Monkey Cage* (5/21/18).

Ross Butters and Christopher Hare, "Three-Fourths of Americans Regularly Talk Politics Only with Members of Their Own Political Tribe," *Monkey Cage* (5/1/17).

Daniel Cox, "Democrats and Republicans Should Argue More – Not Less," *fivethirtyeight.com* (12/22/20).

Noam Gidron et al., "Americans Hate the 'Other Side' in Politics. But So Do Europeans." *Monkey Cage* (11/6/20).

Recommended Books:

Ezra Klein, *Why We're Polarized* (Avid Reader Press, 2020).

Morris P. Fiorina, *Unstable Majorities: Polarization, Party Sorting and Political Stalemate* (Hoover Institution Press, 2017).

Lilliana Mason, *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity* (University of Chicago Press, 2018).

Alan I. Abramowitz, *The Great Alignment: Race, Party Transformation, and the Rise of Donald Trump* (Yale University Press, 2018).

John Sides et al., *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America* (Princeton University Press, 2018).

Recommended Readings:

- Jonathan Mummolo and Neil Malhotra, "Why Partisans Do Not Sort: The Constraints on Political Segregation," *Journal of Politics* (January 2017).
- Matthew S. Levendusky, "Americans, Not Partisans: Can Priming American National Identity Reduce Affective Polarization?" *Journal of Politics* (January 2018).
- Sam Whitt et al., "Tribalism in America: Behavioral Experiments on Affective Polarization in the Trump Era," *Journal of Experimental Political Science* (2020 online).
- Kristin N. Garrett and Alexa Bankert, "The Moral Roots of Partisan Division: How Moral Conviction Heightens Affective Polarization," *British Journal of Political Science* (April 2020).
- Hannah M. Ridge, "Enemy Mine: Negative Partisanship and Satisfaction with Democracy," *Political Behavior* (online 2020).

Week 11 (Mar 30). Issue Opinions . . . Are a Dime a Dozen

Assigned Readings (all students):

- Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapter 4.
- Cheryl Boudreau and Scott A. MacKenzie, "Wanting What Is Fair: How Party Cues and Information about Income Inequality Affect Public Support for Taxes," *Journal of Politics* (April 2018).
- Angela Farizo McCarthy et al., "Religion and Attitudes toward Redistributive Policies among Americans," *Political Research Quarterly* (March 2016).
- David Macdonald, "Trust in Government and the American Public's Responsiveness to Rising Inequality," *Political Research Quarterly* (December 2020).
- Greg Sargent, "The Massive Triumph of the Rich, Illustrated by Stunning New Data," *Washington Post* (12/9/19).
- Bastian Becker, "Here's How Democratic Candidates Can Change American Opinion When Talking about Inequality," *Monkey Cage* (9/17/19).

Special Assignment Instructions:

- No later than week #9 (Mar 9), each student will select one issue on which they will lead class discussion. A set of readings (two academic, two small bites) will be assigned by me on recharge week (Mar 16).
- Be prepared to talk about these readings for approximately 10 minutes, including some time for questions and discussion. Try to emphasize the "big picture" more than the specific details of a particular study.
- You should provide a one-page summary of your assigned readings for distribution to the class.
- Your articles may not have a unifying theme, so don't try to force it if that's the case. On the other hand, if you do believe that the readings are thematically connected, be sure to tell us how.
- If you find an article that you would like to substitute for one of those listed, you must get my approval no later than week #9 (Mar 10) before doing so. Send me a pdf of your preferred article by Sunday the 8th and I will get back to you with a decision as quickly as possible.
- If you want to write an essay on your topic, that's allowed – though it may not be a good idea to do so unless there is a central theme that ties the readings together. Also, if you decide to write an essay, you should find some additional readings (academic or otherwise) to complement the ones that are required.

I will spend the first part of class talking about inequality (the subject of the assigned readings listed above, except for Erikson-Tedin) before turning things over to students, who may choose from the following topics: abortion, race, immigration, social welfare, gay/LGBTQ rights, gun control, sexual harassment, national security/war on terror, foreign policy, free trade, and the environment/climate change. If there's an issue you're interested in that's not on this list, let me know that by Feb 18 and I will consider adding it.

Week 12 (Apr 6). Campaign Effects: Playing to Win

Assigned Readings:

- Michael A. Bailey et al., "Unresponsive and Unpersuaded: The Unintended Consequences of a Voter Persuasion Effort," *Political Behavior* (September 2016).
- Daron Shaw et al., "Testing Overall and Synergistic Campaign Effects in a Partisan Statewide Election," *Political Research Quarterly* (June 2018).
- Joshua L. Kalla and David E. Broockman, "The Minimal Persuasive Effects of Campaign Contact in General Elections: Evidence from 49 Field Experiments," *American Political Science Review* (February 2018).
- Larry M. Bartels, "Remembering to Forget: A Note on the Duration of Campaign Advertising Effects," *Political Communication* (2014).
- Stephen C. Craig et al., "Attack and Response in Political Campaigns: An Experimental Study in Two Parts," *Political Communication* (October 2014).

Small Bites:

- Maggie Koerth, "How Money Affects Elections," *fivethirtyeight.com* (9/10/18).
- Sue Halpern, "How Campaigns Are Using Marketing, Manipulation, and 'Psychographic Targeting' to Win Elections – and Weaken Democracy," *The New Republic* (10/18/18).
- Ram Gopal and Niam Yaraghu, "How Political Attack Adverts Can Backfire," *The Conversation* (8/27/20).
- Philip Bump, "All the Way Trump's Campaign Was Aided by Facebook, Ranked by Importance," *Washington Post* (3/22/18).
- Boris Heersink and Jordan Carr Peterson, "Trump Is Going Back to Holding Rallies. He Might Be Helping Biden," *Monkey Cage* (6/18/20).

Recommended Readings:

- Steven Sprick Schuster, "Does Campaign Spending Affect Election Outcomes? New Evidence from Transaction-Level Disbursement Data," *Journal of Politics* (October 2020).
- Ted Brader, "Striking a Responsive Chord: How Political Ads Motivate and Persuade Voters by Appealing to Emotions," *American Journal of Political Science* (April 2005).
- Ryan D. Enos and Eitan D. Hersh, "Campaign Perceptions of Electoral Closeness: Uncertainty, Fear and Over-Confidence," *British Journal of Political Science* (July 2017).
- Elizabeth N. Simas and Doug Murdoch, "'I Didn't Lie, I Misspoke': Voters' Responses to Questionable Campaign Claims," *Journal of Experimental Political Science* (Summer 2020).

Week 13 (Apr 13). Turnout and Participation: How to Be a Good Citizen

Assigned Readings:

- Jon C. Rogowski, "Electoral Choice, Ideological Conflict, and Political Participation," *American Journal of Political Science* (April 2014).
- Barry C. Burden and Amber Wichowsky, "Economic Discontent as a Mobilizer: Unemployment and Voter Turnout," *Journal of Politics* (October 2014).
- Allison P. Anoll, "What Makes a Good Neighbor? Race, Place, and Norms of Political Participation," *American Political Science Review* (August 2018).
- Mark Brockway, "Home on Sunday, Home on Tuesday? Secular Political Participation in the United States," *Politics and Religion* (June 2018).
- Joanne M. Miller and Kyle L. Saunders, "It's Not All About Resources: Explaining (or Not) the Instability of Individual-Level Political Participation Over Time," *American Politics Research* (November 2016).

Small Bites:

- Amber Phillips, "Examining the Arguments against Voting by Mail: Does It Really Lead to Fraud or Benefit Only Democrats?" *Washington Post* (5/20/20).
- Pippa Norris et al., "Why Don't More Americans Vote? Maybe Because They Don't Trust U.S. Elections," *Monkey Cage* (12/26/16).
- Joshua Tucker (channeling Victoria Shineman), "Incentivizing Participation Would Increase Voter Turnout and Political Information," *The Monkey Cage* (11/6/12).

Antoine J. Banks et al., "How Do Black People Channel Their Anger about Racial Injustice? Here's What We Found," *Monkey Cage* (6/29/20).

Recommended Readings:

Leonie Huddy et al., "Expressive Partisanship: Campaign Involvement, Political Emotion, and Partisan Identity," *American Political Science Review* (February 2015).

Nicholas A. Valentino et al., "Election Night's Alright for Fighting: The Role of Emotions in Political Participation," *Journal of Politics* (January 2011).

Alan S. Gerber et al., "Personality Traits and Participation in Political Processes," *Journal of Politics* (July 2011).

John B. Holbein, "Childhood Skill Development and Adult Political Participation," *American Political Science Review* (August 2017).

Week 14 (Apr 20). Representation and Linkage: The Rulers and the Ruled

Assigned Readings:

Erikson and Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, Chapters 10, 11.

Jack Citrin and Laura Stoker, "Political Trust in a Cynical Age," *Annual Review of Political Science* (2018).

Chanita Intawan and Stephen P. Nicholson, "My Trust in Government Is Implicit: Automatic Trust in Government and System Support," *Journal of Politics* (April 2018).

Amy E. Lerman and Daniel Acland, "United States of Dissatisfaction: Confirmation Bias across the Partisan Divide," *American Politics Research* (March 2020).

Martin Gilens and Benjamin I. Page, "Testing Theories of American Politics: Elites, Interest Groups, and Average Citizens," *Perspectives on Politics* (September 2014).

Jan E. Leighley and Jennifer Osser, "Representation in an Era of Political and Economic Inequality: How and When Citizen Engagement Matters," *Perspectives on Politics* (June 2018).

Small Bites:

David M. Mayer, "The Psychology of Fairness: Why Some Americans Don't Believe the Election Results," *The Conversation* (12/21/20).

Nathan Kalmoe, "A Surprising Number of Americans Endorse Violence Against the Government. Here's Why," *Monkey Cage* (6/14/17).

Emily Sydnor, "When a World Series Crowd Boed Trump, Some Cringed – and Some Celebrated. That's Not Just Partisanship," *Monkey Cage* (10/31/19).

LaGina Gause, "Black People Have Protested Police Killings for Years. Here's Why Officials Are Finally Responding," *Monkey Cage* (6/12/20).

Recommended Readings:

Steven W. Webster, "Anger and Declining Trust in Government in the American Electorate," *Political Behavior* (December 2018).

John D. Griffin and Brian Newman, "Voting Power, Policy Representation, and Disparities in Voting's Rewards," *Journal of Politics* (January 2013).

David E. Brockman and Christopher Skovron, "Bias in Perceptions of Public Opinion among Political Elites," *American Political Science Review* (July 2018).

Anthony Fowler and Andrew B. Hall, "Long-Term Consequences of Election Results," *British Journal of Political Science* (April 2017).

Devin Caughey and Christopher Warsaw, "Policy Preferences and Policy Change: Dynamic Responsiveness in the American States, 1936-2014," *American Political Science Review* (May 2018).